1; Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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142 tions, I was only able to study by surreptitious examination, when we met on the roads. In physique, the typical Badaga man is below middle height, smooth-skinned, of slender build, with narrow chest and shoulders.

304 (856) Badaga men have cicatrices on the shoulder and forearm as the result of branding with a fire-stick when they are lads, with the object, it is said, of giving strength, 000 and preventing pain when milking or churning. In like manner, the Todas have raised cicatrices (keloids) on the shoulder produced by branding with a fire-stick. They believe that the branding enables them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease.

• 551 The Badagas have a very extensive repertoire of hora hesaru, or nicknames, of which the following are examples :—

One who eats in bed during the night.	Bad-tempered.
Snorer.	Left-handed.
Stupid.	Buffalo grazer.
Bald head.	Saliva dribbling.
Brown-eyed.	Honey-eater.
Thin and bony.	Black
Big head.	Spleen.
Bandy-legged.	Teeth.
One who returned alive from the burning ground.	Potato-eater.
Ripe fruit.	Glutton.
Big-thighed.	Belly.
Blind.	Itch-legged.
Lame.	One who was slow in learning to walk.
Big calves.	Tall.
Piles.	Thief-eyed.
Liar.	Pustule-bodied.
Cat-eyed.	Scarred.
Fond of pot-herbs	Hairy.
Rheumatic.	Weak, like partially baked pots.
	Strong, like portland cement.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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in the days immediately after the new or full moon. It is believed that a male birth on the night of the full moon or the next day is auspicious, but if on the day of the new moon it is more inauspicious than on any other day (Reclus 1885: 203). This belief is enshrined in the saying, "The boy born on the new moon day is bad; the girl born on the full moon day is bad." (For purposes of Badaga ritual practice, and this particular belief too, a sunset ends one day and is the beginning of the next.) A birth coming on a day between the new and the full moon is lucky; whereas one between the full and the new moon is unlucky. It is exceptionally auspicious if a *son* is born at the full moon, and luckier still if this happens to be the mother's eighth delivery (though not necessarily her eighth live birth). Under these circumstances the family will "prosper like a king's." If on the other hand it is a girl who is born at the new moon, or at her mother's eighth delivery, it is then believed that the family the child marries into will prosper, and so many will want to marry her.

The unfortunate boy born on the day of the new moon is called Tippa; and a girl born at the full moon is similarly Tippe. As soon as such an unlucky child has been born it is put into an old winnow and dragged a few inches across the floor. The name Tippa means "rubbish dump," and this act symbolizes throwing the baby away as rubbish: afterwards the inauspicious birth will not have a bad effect on the family. Later, at its naming ceremony, the child will be given two names so that it does not have to be called by this distasteful one.

4.7. Long ago in cases of very difficult labour Badaga midwives performed Caesarean operations, using the small knife that is intended for severing the umbilicus. I could not ascertain whether the wound was stitched up afterwards: in those times people did not care very much whether the mother died, provided the child was born and remained alive. Now the opposite attitude prevails. Some midwives still know how to reach into a womb and remove a dead foetus. It should be noted that if a pregnant woman dies the foetus must be cut out before disposal of the mother's corpse: from this unfortunate custom some basic surgical knowledge was undoubtedly gleaned in the past.

Nowadays if a woman is having a particularly difficult labour a special mixture is prepared for her. Items used in this include dried ginger, pepper, cumin, clove, crude sugar, coffee powder,

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered
[622] insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head-
[623] man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to *his* son or else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no
[428] sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife,
[837] in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest, this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the
597 property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives
[425] accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his
428 brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of
[736] his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned
736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages.
428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from
[425] their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense
[623] for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they
428 give a share called *tale ku:ru* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's
425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his
601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relationship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite complicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his FF

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AWSO Badaga AWSO

about her, he will still not refer to his wife by her relationship through the speaker to his own FF, and so instead of calling her "your grandson's wife," Ego will describe her as "X's mother" where 'X' is Ego's own child.

The same terms are used for children by both male and female speakers, but the reference may link a speaker to a child through either of its parents. It is interesting in this context to note what happens when two brothers marry two sisters, as in Diagram 3. In this situation we find that Ego calls 'X' his BS, while Ego's wife calls 'X' her ZS. It is one small reflection of sibling solidarity.

Diagram 3

The near universal distinctions of sex are mirrored in the terminology (see Table 2). Thus a term ending in *-i (mammi* for the first ascending generation collaterals) will connote a female while the same term ending in *-a (mamma* for the first ascending generation collaterals also) will be used for a male. (This suffix differentiation is general in the Dravidian languages and not reserved just for kinship terms.)

Generational division is prevalent and especially obvious for the second and third ascending and second descending generations. All grandfathers and great-grandfathers—paternal or maternal—are referred to as *ayya*, all grandmothers and great-grandmothers as *hette*. Sons, grandsons as well as all small boys tend to be called *ma:ti* or *tamma*. Granddaughters and grandsons are also referred to in descriptive terminology.

Inheritance and respect patterns within a single generation place emphasis upon who is elder (e) or younger (y) and this too is reflected in the kinship terms. An elder brother is *anna*, a younger one is *tamma*. An elder sister is *akka*, a younger one *amme*. Even in generations other than Ego's at prefix *(doḍḍa* for elder, *kunna* or *sikka* for younger) is applied to some terms to emphasize whether a relative is younger or older than the person through whom Ego is related to him or her. A few examples are these: *appa* is father, and a FeB would be called *doḍḍa appa* while FyB would be *kunna appa;* the mother is *auve*, and a MZS would be *doḍḍa auve ma:ti* or *sikka auve ma:ti* depending on the relative seniority of the MZ; *ayya* is any male of the second or third generation ascending, but a FFeB is called *doḍḍa ayya* while FFyB is *kunna ayya*.

Agnates of generations senior to Ego are addressed by him using a kin term. Those who are of generations equal or junior to Ego's are addressed by name, even when the individuals are older than Ego is. A woman, on the other hand, should never utter her husband's name, whether or not he is

8: Rockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

add, "It's the same name as his." She does not even refer to her husband by the standard kin term, *gaṇḍa*, but instead says *en mane avoka*, "my housekeeper."

The Badagas display what Murdock (1949: 223-236) has termed a Dakota-type terminology. They have the Iroquois terminology (bifurcate merging), which emphasizes Ego's lineage by: (1) equating father and his brothers (*appa*) but separating off mother's brothers (*mamma*); (2) equating mother and her sisters (*avve*) but separating off father's sisters (*mammi*). The Iroquois bifurcate-merging cousin terminology specifically separates out the cross-cousins who can be married (FZD—*mammi heṇṇu*; MBD—*mamma heṇṇu*) from the sisters (eZ—*akka*; yZ—*amme*) and parallel cousins (FBD—*akka, amme*, and MZD—*doḍḍa avve heṇṇu* [e] or *sikka avve heṇṇu* [y]) whom one cannot marry. By calling Ego's Z and FBD by the same terms, Ego's patrilineage is also emphasized. Dakota-type terminology also assumes patrilineages and patriclans which, as already stated, the Badagas possess.

It should be noted that the generational level within the agnatic group is extremely important. This importance is stressed even to the extent that if Ego's DD is married to a man related as "F" to Ego, then she has to be treated as a "M" by Ego. And if ZD marries a "F" relation to Ego then she is considered "M" to Ego even though he is *guru* to her. Females automatically assume the generation levels of the men they marry. In the example illustrated (Diagram 4), if 'A' marries 'B', which may happen if 'A' is younger than 'B', then she calls 'C' "father's wife," not "brother's daughter."

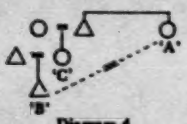

Diagram 4

The same general principle is illustrated by another possible though hypothetical situation. In Diagram 5, 'B' marries 'C' and later dies, leaving her with several sons. The widow 'C' is then encouraged to marry 'A', probably a widower himself. If she has a son 'D' by him, then 'D' is one generation senior to 'E', 'F', and 'G', although he is younger than any of them. 'E' thus has to call 'D' "father." Later at the inheritance of 'A's' property, 'D' gets one half of it, while the other half is shared by 'E', 'F', and 'G'.

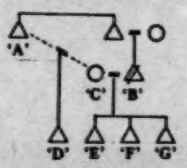

Diagram 5

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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roof of it is well planked, and over it is another small room called *Mâlâdu*—upper storey—which serves as a store-house. Next to the *Edirmanê*, on the right, is the *Hâgôṭu*—the milk house—a place of worship to the Badagas, into which the women are not allowed to enter; and adjoining it is the kitchen, called *Hole* by the Badagas; the last of all the rooms is the *Pillê*—bath-room. Thus the front room, a store-room over it, the milk-house, a kitchen and a bath-room complete the arrangement of a Badaga house.

The Badaga invests some money in that most necessary piece of furniture in a cold climate,—a family cot to sleep upon. It is always a broad thick plank of some fine wood—teak, jack or ebony, and is the only substantial movable property of a Badaga.

We shall now describe the Badaga ceremonies and rites, and the best way to exhaust them is to trace an individual from the time of his birth to his death. Of course some difference must exist in the case of males and females, and these we shall note as we proceed.

In the case of a boy little or almost nothing is done to the child as a ceremony till his ninth year. On the third month after his birth he is given a name, and his head is shaved. But nothing further occurs till the baby has grown into a boy of nine years. Then the initiation of the boy into the duties of a Badaga—milking the buffaloes—is performed. In describing the Badaga house I have already made mention of the *Hâgôṭu*—the milk house—a place of worship in which the milk is stored up. Females are debarred from entrance into it, and so are the male children till they undergo this ceremony which we are about to describe.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony the boy is bathed and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo with her calf stands before his house waiting to be milked. The parents or other elder relations of the boy and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father or some one of the agnatic kindred gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called *Hoṇe* which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy sitting down milks a small quantity into the *Hoṇe*. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking; and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the *Hoṇe* is previously filled almost to the brim. It is extremely curious to see that this is observed as a regular ceremony, and it indicates